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533 repetition, however, is fixed: sometimes the whole song is repeated; sometimes from the middle point to the end, then from the beginning to the end. Many series have a standard introduction and final phrase, and some informants thought that all should have them. These phrases always have the same tune and the same words, the words being now entirely untranslatable. Some are as follows:

Song	*Beginning*	*Ending*
Girl's puberty		Mim or mum
Scalp	He, hel	Tángwi [15]
Corn		Íro a'áro
Wíikita		Tcúkuta tcúkuh
Scraping stick	Hi'hianai hul	Hítcia háhina

533 Papago songs contain extra vocables which lengthen the word
194 to fit the musical line. With the same object, they also shorten words and frequently omit prepositions and auxiliaries entirely. A definite system of phonetic change is practiced in singing. Theoretically the stop consonants are changed to the corresponding nasals (*p* to *m*, *t* to *n*, *k* to *ng*), so that the word *iipetak* (heart) becomes *iimuinanga*.[16] Such transmutations make the words of a song, when sung, entirely different from spoken Papago. It was necessary, in transcribing, always to write the sung version first, then the spoken version, and finally the translation. An interpreter unfamiliar with the song might be completely at sea. Especially if the song contained archaic words, he might have to labor long with the informant before straightening out the spoken version.

533 The words, even when interpreted, often differ considerably
193 from modern forms. Tense is rarely expressed, and the translator is always at liberty to use present or past at will. Number is also not expressed. Sometimes the subject of a sentence is lacking, and the singer may explain: "It says 'he sits on a mountain and rubs his belly,' but everyone knows that it means a brown bear."

[15] The scalp-song ending is found also in the Mohave salt songs, where it is equally untranslatable.

[16] The writer, in common with several others, wrote all top consonants as intermediates, since they have practically that sound in modern Papago. However, Dr. J. Alden Mason, author of a forthcoming Papago grammar (University of California Press) advises that they should be surds and sonants and that only the latter make the change.

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The song consists of very few lines, repeated from four to sixteen times. The lines themselves may consist almost wholly of standard poetic expressions, usually in contrasted pairs, such as morning-night, east-west, running-standing, rain-cloud, white-black, and far-near. Certain tricks of vocabulary are very noticeable, such as the incessant use of the word *kəmhu* (yonder, out of sight). The word has the sonorous quality and poetic implication which recommends it as an introduction, and one song out of ten seems to use it. Almost the same can be said of *mīhk* (far), and the words for wind, cloud, and mountain appear so often that one might accuse the inexpert singer of feeling that when he has put these into a sentence he has poem enough.

TRANSLATION

A word may be added as to the translation given here, both for speeches and songs. There has been no effort to use archaic language for artistic effect, but certain Papago constructions lend themselves to expressions in old English. There is a verbal auxiliary in the past which can most accurately be translated by our form "did." "Then did he swiftly go" is correctly Papago in construction and word order. Such semi-obsolete words as "thereon" and "therewith" are also literal translations. Papago would go farther and say "him-on" and "him-with." Though the translation could not follow all these constructions and remain readable, it was thought desirable to suggest them whenever the English would permit.

The style of vocabulary being thus determined, it was carried out wherever choice was possible. An expression indicating approval may be rendered "all right" or "it is well." There seems no special virtue in choosing the modern colloquialism rather than an expression in harmony with the others used.

The word order has also been rendered as accurately as easy reading permits. A Papago sentence has the verb at the end, with all the other elements placed before it except the nominal subject. A typical arrangement would be: "Then did he yonder to him-ward swiftly go, that youth." A number of such sentences in English would be tiresome, but it has been thought best to suggest the ar-

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rangement as frequently as possible, even though it is not consistently maintained.

Many of the five hundred songs collected seem no more than rearrangements of the beloved words "rain," "wind," and "mountain." It is obvious that in a society where dreaming was practically compulsory, many a man must have grasped at some slight alteration in tune or words in order to be able to call a song his own. In fact, dreamers have passionately defended their rights when the writer suggested that some song seemed a repetition of one already transcribed. "Can't you see, it says mountain instead of hill and green instead of red? It's *my* song."

Some songs, however, are vignettes of desert life, as clear in contour as a Chinese poem. The brown crickets hopping among the squash vines, the deer drinking where the water drips beside the datura blossoms, and the birds chattering on the ground that the deer have trampled are strikingly chosen details which evoke a whole picture. Some are even humorous, for every phase of the subject must be vivified, even the clumsiness of an inept hunter or the antics of a turtle at courting. Papago ceremonial art, it would seem, found its best expression in words. The scanty, colorless costumes, the background of empty desert or houses like earthen mounds, had beauty only in their stark simplicity. But the very passion of need sharpened songs and oratory to a vividness which is often poetry.

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[For a listing of nominal stems, see category 192. -- Analyst]

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PAPAGO NOMINAL STEMS

JUAN DOLORES

EDITED BY J. ALDEN MASON

INTRODUCTION

BY

J. ALDEN MASON

The Papago nouns here given have been gathered mainly from the texts of Juan Dolores written for the University of California in the years 1911–1913 and 1918–1919. This considerable body of material was typewritten by the editor and all nouns excised from the carbon copy, arranged, and compared. To these nouns was then added the large number of nominal stems published as a part of the author's *Papago Verb Stems*[1] and, to make the list as complete as possible, the nouns collected by the editor, in text and grammatical notes, in the winter of 1918–1919, were added. The various renderings were then compared, the standardized stems divided into natural groupings, and the manuscript typed.

The seven general groups of animals, body parts, botanical terms, natural phenomena, artifacts and manufactures, personal categories, and abstract terms have been observed, and within each the stems have been arranged in the phonetic order a, e, i, o, u, m, n, l, s, c, h, v, w, b, p, d, t, dj, tc, g, k. Words of doubtful form or meaning and all *hapax legomena*[1] have been starred with an initial asterisk and words derived from Spanish or other languages put in italics.

A brief key to orthography and pronunciation is all that can be attempted here. The phonetics of Papago have been described by A. L. Kroeber in his explanatory note to the author's abovementioned contribution, and the orthographic system there developed has been here adopted with slight variations. They also differ in very slight degree from those of Tepecano described more fully by the editor.[2]

[1] Present series, x, 241–263, 1913.

[2] Tepecano, A Piman Language of Western Mexico, Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sciences, xxv, 1917.

1 [ie., words cited only once in the texts referred to. —Analyst]

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104 The symbol *e* has been used in place of the *ë* written by the author and the *ö* preferred by the editor. This has been done primarily for typographic reasons, but the substitution is not a random one, inasmuch as the *ö* of the Piman group of languages relates to the *e* of the other Sonoran and Uto-Aztekan languages.

114 *l* as an initial sound is found solely in words of Spanish origin.
194 The writer frequently heard and wrote it as *r*.

The question of the sonant stops and affricatives is a most difficult one. As in Tepecano, the difference is very slight and confusion certain. The editor was frequently at fault in his renderings while the author was never fully convinced of the existence of sonant stops. Taught at first to write all as surds, he was never able accurately to distinguish between them. However, the surd stop is always preceded by a voiceless sound, generally either the aspirate *h* or a voiceless vowel, while the sonant stop is as invariably preceded by a voiced sound or a glottal stop. This then is a certain criterion when the determining factors have been correctly noted. Unfortunately this was frequently not the case. The criterion, moreover, was useless in the case of initial stops since, in the author's texts at least, words were written with their phonetic values when isolated. Consequently it has been impossible in many cases to determine whether a given stop is surd or sonant. Only when the testimony was overwhelming —uniform phonetic rendering, or sonant rendering by the editor together with a sonant correspondent in Tepecano—was the author's surd changed to a sonant. In all doubtful cases, the stop has been left written as a surd, though generally the preceding sound is sufficient to identify its nature.

128 An effort has been made to give each noun in its simplest form. It will be noted that the orthography frequently differs somewhat from the form given in the author's *Verb Stems*. There the stems were given in the phonetic forms they take when isolated; in this case all changes due to phonetic laws have, as far as possible, been eliminated.

128 The editor must plead guilty to numerous inconsistencies in the
193 preparation of this article. While most of the nouns given are true stems, a few cannot qualify under this title and are given merely because they are important and occur in texts or notes. In this class are words, usually pertaining to artifacts and manufactures, ending in the instrumental suffix *-kuhl*, and others ending in the suffixes

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-kam or *-tam*. Occasionally two stems are united to form a noun, and, less frequently, prefixes are found. In all such cases of certain complexity, the integral parts have been separated by hyphens and, in the case of prefixes, the noun tabulated under the alphabetical order of its stem. Probably other cases of combination have passed unnoted. In general however, nouns formed by regular means from verbs or other parts of speech have not been considered in the present list.